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commensurable value to the incommensurable gratitude, friendship, or respect which he wants to express. He prefers to exchange his coins for some other object, possibly of far less practical value to the recipient. The African chief, on the contrary, is more flattered on receiving a coin, however small, than anything else, because, as he says: 'money is respect (*umucinshi*)'. Small coins are constantly used as presents of honour to relatives, and it is quite common for a servant who wants to make an elegant gift to his white master to do so by presenting him with a threepenny or a sixpenny bit. Sums of money are used as compensation in cases of injury or insult.

In particular ceremonies money again performs special functions. At a marriage or an initiation rite coins are used instead of the old bark-cloth, and also as a payment for ritual services or as a means of removing taboos. Sixpence or a shilling may be offered to the woman who lights a girl's fire on the morning after her marriage, to those who whitewash the hut after a funeral ceremony, or to remove a taboo on eating. At the ceremonial founding of the chief's new village there is now a fixed tariff ranging from 1*s*. to 10*s*. for the hereditary priests who are in charge of the rites, such as the lighter of the sacred fire, the opener of the sacred relic huts, or those who purify the chief, wake him ceremonially in the morning, or beat his hereditary drum. In all these cases the coins are used as valuables much as the ivory tusks, cloth, or bracelets of old days were employed, and their rarity makes them the most suitable objects available at the present day.

With this special attitude to money, it is not surprising that the Bemba still consider it waste to use coins for the purchase of food. money is too rare and too hardly come by to be thrown away on a commodity that can be got in some other way. Only a few years before my visit an old woman was discovered dying of starvation in a disused hut on the motor road with a 2*s*. piece tied in a fold of her cloth. It had apparently never occurred to her to use the money to buy supplies on her journey to the mines to look for her son. Younger people have naturally changed in this respect, but it is still true to say that money is never 'wasted' (*ukuposa*) on food unless it is absolutely necessary, as it is near the white towns. Even then the transition to a sale from a gift from a kinsman or a subject is a very gradual one. People buying from relatives pay less than the normal rate, and usually add some service to the transaction Chiefs buying from subjects, as we shall see, pay nominal

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e.g. *Mwamba wa pa Milenge*, 'The Mwamba who built on the Milenge River'.

This strong feeling for the preservation of the sites of old capitals is expressed ritually in a number of ways. After the burial of a chief the dead man's hut must be ceremonially destroyed, *ukutoba itembwe*, and a sacrifice of an ox offered. After the rubble on the house site has rotted away, a spirit shrine (*ulufuba*) is built on the spot, and prayers offered there subsequently. Many such shrines are still honoured. The ritual performed there ultimately depends on the Bemba belief, which natives readily express, that the *imipashi*, besides going up and down the land, being present in the huts of their descendants at dusk or dawn, or lingering on burial groves, may be expected to frequent the village site which they inhabited in life, and on which they died, and that they may readily be invoked there.[1]

The intense interest of the Bemba in these historical sites in their neighbourhood has a considerable sociological importance. Malinowski has given us information from a Melanesian Island to show how clan myths associated with certain geographical spots in the territory, constantly repeated by its members, and said to be owned by them, form what he calls a 'mythical charter' for the right to use the land.[2] Among the Bemba there is no developed mythology of the doings of miraculous beings associated with different localities, but many historical traditions of the actions of former chiefs, and of the whereabouts of their villages. One can only imagine that the performance of rites at these deserted sites, or even the constant narration of different happenings associated with these ancient *ifibolya*, gives the natives a valuable assurance that such powerful chiefs actually did live in the particular area and may be called upon to protect it, and that the present holder of the title, as the direct descendant of men who built capitals all over the district, has the requisite power to approach them.

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Burial-places, as distinct from deserted village sites, are forgotten quickly. The mortuary ritual of a commoner is hurried and unimpressive, and the burial-ground of a village is a place avoided by natives, and on which no rites are carried out. Chiefs are buried in clumps of evergreen swamp forests. The Citimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula, Cewe, and Nkweto at the big thicket known

[1] Chap. XVII.
[2] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, 1934, vol. i, pp. 341–58.

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as Shimwalule in the Chinsali district, the most secret and carefully guarded shrine in the territory. The bodies of lesser chiefs and royal princesses are buried in another grove about four miles from Citimukulu's village.[1]

Other sacred spots in Bemba territory are certain rocks, waterfalls, caves, or other unusual geographical features, named after legendary beings, who are described either as having lived at the spot in question, as having been found there by the immigrant Bemba, or as having performed some dramatic action there—jumping into a waterfall or drowning in a lake. It must be remembered that on this flat plateau, roughly 700 miles across, the sight of a mountain or rocky crag is rare and waterfalls of impressive size are few. Natives tend to speak of even low hills with interest, and most rocky summits or big caves are associated with the names of supernatural beings, who may be invoked there by the hereditary priest in charge (*shimiapepo*) at the order of the territorial chief. These sacred spots are not believed to have been sites of human habitation, nor by their very nature could most of them have been inhabited. The spirits associated with them are emphatically stated never to have been chiefs. They are *ngulu*—the name also used for a man or woman who believes himself or herself to be possessed by ancestral spirits. Were they people at all? 'Yes, but not people who go about like we do' (*Te muntu ua kuendaendafye*). That is to say they are legendary figures quite outside the tribal hierarchy of spirits, of whom little is remembered. Some natives say they were the first inhabitants of the country, but others deny that they were ever human beings at all. Pythons are said to inhabit some of these sites and to be worshipped there.

There are thus two types of spirit centre in the country—those of famous chiefs of the past, whose lineage can still be traced and whose descendants rule over the present territory. These cleared the bush here and there, built villages, and made the *mpanga* 'warm', ruled successfully over communities, died, and became protective influences over the inhabited district. The other spirits, *ngulu*, are also believed to hold power over a definite locality, but they never belonged to the lineage group of the Bemba and their names are not associated with habitable village sites but only with remarkable features of the landscape which in themselves arouse awe.

[1] The site of the village of the first ancestress of the Bemba, Bwalya Cabala.

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usually descendants of the dead chief, and directly responsible to his living successor.

(4) *Natural phenomena* (*ngulu*). Remarkable natural phenomena like big waterfalls or caves are also considered to be spirit-centres believed to have been inhabited by legendary personages, e.g. the cave under the Cishimba Waterfall near Cilubula, the Canga cave filled with bats near Kasama, a queer pointed stone in the river near Kapatu, warm springs at Mwamba Kambwale in Munkonge's country where women only may catch the fish, &c. Many of these sites are also associated with a form of snake worship, or are believed to be inhabited by a python. Battle-grounds or places where many people have been known to be killed, are also feared and believed to be haunted by spirits (e.g. Musonda Cinanda in the Chinsali district where a number of Arabs are said to have been slaughtered). All these *ngulu* sites are in charge of local *bashimapepo* acting under the orders of the chief.

(5) *Burial groves of dead chiefs* (*mwalule*). It is characteristic of the centralized government of the Bemba that their big chiefs are buried in one place—Shimwalule in the Chinsali district—while the lesser chiefs and chieftainesses are buried in the grove of Bwalya Cabala near Citimukulu's village.[1] The great grove, a place kept with great secrecy and lying at about four days' walk from the capital, is said to have the greatest *imipashi* of the land. The priest in charge, the *Shimwalule*, is himself the burier of the Citimukulu, and is in a sense the ultimate authority in the whole spiritual hierarchy since he alone can sacrifice for rain,[2] or in the old days could pray for success in war.

(6) *Sacred relic shrines* (*bakenye*). The Paramount Chief, all the bigger territorial chiefs, and the most important *bakabilo*, possess relic shrines which are considered the ultimate source of their spiritual powers. These shrines are huts which resemble ordinary houses, but have their doors barred with logs or ivory tusks, and are kept with the utmost secrecy. They are hedged with taboos, and may only be entered by the chief, the 'wives of the relics' (*bamukakenye*), old women, descendants of the first chief's wives, and by the five most important *bakabilo*. They contain relics (usually stools) of the first holders of each particular title, by which the tribal spirits may be invoked. The most important religious rites of the Bemba are those by which a new Paramount acquires his

[1] Cf. pp. 240–1. [2] Drought is very rare in this area.

614 it must be emphasised that the matriclans in this area are in no sense political or territorial groups. Through clan affiliation a man traces his descent, his rank, and, if he belongs to the royal clan, his right to succeed to chieftainship. In the old days substitution of men or women in the payment of blood revenge could take place within the clan. But no property is owned in common by the clan. There is neither joint occupation of land nor collective ritual activities. The distinguishing features of the Bemba clan are the name, praise-name and legends associated with the original ancestress and also, in some cases, with her brother.

554 Characteristic aspects of these Bemba clans are the hierarchy of
614 status in which they are ranged and the reciprocity of paired clan rela-
616 tions. The former is based on the alleged priority of the arrival of clan ancestors in Bemba country and also proximity to the heart of the country. Highest in rank and forming the royal clan are the Crocodiles. This hierarchy is to be observed in other groups in the area, though the royal clans differ. Clan names, generally those of natural objects, animals, birds etc., have been called totemic, although there are few, if any, food taboos associated with them.(1) The words used are frequently archaic and are common to other groups in the area, e.g. Lamba, Kaonde, Lala. The story of their acquisition is the basis for the pairing of opposite clans. The clans paired seem to be those whose clan symbols are naturally antipathetic or complementary to one another, e.g., fish and crocodile, mushroom and rain. They are not paired systematically but often by purely arbitrary factors connecting the clan with several such partners.

616 Reciprocal functions of a paired clan are chiefly confined to funeral
764 rites.(2) The "banungwe", the name used reciprocally by members of paired clans, of a dead man's family both help and hinder at the burial ceremony. Ritually expressed, therefore, the traditional attitude be-
582 tween partners is one of hostility yet, as the complementary nature of the
602 clan names often implies, one of service. Between partners there is ease and freedom of behaviour, privileges are taken and formerly, it is said, marriages between them were preferential. Briefly, reciprocal clan relationship among the Bemba implies ritual interdependence, partnership of rivals expressed in ritual, traditional joking and licence in daily relations and preferential marriage claims.(3)

613 Within the Bemba clan a loosely organised group called "the house" (inganda) is recognised which is composed of the descendants of one woman. Richards points out that this matrilineage is in no sense a corporate group.(4) The members of the "house" trace descent to one woman and remember the village where this woman lived. They do not, however, live [591] in one place since the rules of residence at marriage necessitate the scattering of both male and female members of the matrilineage throughout a number of villages. No property is owned in common by its members, nor is its senior male in a position of political authority, although he has certain powers over the women of the group and their children. This dispersed

(1) Richards, A, 1939, p.82. Food taboos do exist among the Tabwa, see Vleugels J. 1948.
(2) Richard., A, 1937.
(3) This is marked among the Tabwa. See Vleugels, op.cit.
(4) Richards, A, 1950.

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643 At state functions the Kazembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon
lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native
292 cotton fabric[1] and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow
293 feathers, the *muconso* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the
insipo girdle of hide,[2] and the *lukono* armband, emblem of his office.[3]
534 His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed
to the accompaniment of music.[4] Musical instruments[5] were *marimba*[6]
535 (a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*[7] (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical
drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gonati*
(two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,[8] a hollow
wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means
of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chambuncus* drum,[9] resting
on a lion's skin in Kazembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to
accompany the armies.

521 Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects
of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now
526 finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

842 The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children.
847 Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad
luck.[9] An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors
551 on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of ancestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda
names.

582 The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is
with the *mafyala*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother
or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network
of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there
are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but
583 traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be
regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments
591 are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first
few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get
accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-
law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at
liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same
village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent.
595 The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's
widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sister,
since she is called *mayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

764 The dead are buried in the bush. A *mwoli* (see p.86 above) of the deceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.227-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Dewdick, p.9[illegible]
(3) Burton, p.253.
(4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Gemitto, I, p.243.
(8) ibid., pp.242-3.
(9) ibid., pp.233-2.
(10) Livingstone, I, p.276.

pants from the contemplation of their loss he makes jokes at the expense of the dead man and behaves in a fashion which in other circumstances would be considered outrageous and would not be tolerated. 764

Kazembes considered themselves as potentially immortal; thus the death of a Kazembe was attributed to neglect of magical precautions against witchcraft.(1) According to Pinto, slaves and wives of a dead Kazembe were sacrificed and a ten-day period of authorized licence followed during which robberies were allowed.(2) 754 643 782

It was believed that the living and the dead could communicate. Life after death resembled that led while alive.(3) 775

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS AND RITUAL

The concept of the high-god Leza is common to the Bemba-speaking peoples. *Leza*, the creator, is regarded rather as a nature force than a personal deity and is not the object of an organised cult. He manifests himself in thunder, lightning, and the rainbow and can kill by lightning or epidemics, but generally interferes little. 776

The *ngulu*, nature spirits residing in animals, trees, stones, hills, caves, ponds, waterfalls, can bring good weather and crops and are prayed to in an emergency. This cult is of non-Lunda origin and has probably come from the Chishinga, Lungu and Bemba country. Most of the dwelling-places of these spirits are found on the escarpment hills and on the plateau. The *afumu ya mipashi* (chiefs of spirits), which can enter and possess people making them dance, are local deities whose beneficient activity is confined to the village or district. [177]

When the general well-being of the community was concerned the spirits of dead Kazembes, *mazemba*, were consulted and presented with offerings of cassava, beer and goats. Kazembes were buried at a place north-east of the old capital with which it was connected by a broad pathway(4) still discernible. Each had a shrine which was tended by a guardian-priest, *mwine mazemba*,(5) whose office was hereditary. These keepers of the royal graves sought the advice of the oracle when war was contemplated and invoked the assistance of the spirits.(6) The River Lualaba, in which Kazembe the founder of the dynasty rests, was held in veneration. Processions went there annually at harvesting time. It is said that Keleka was the first Kazembe who failed to lead the procession in person, and the famine and smallpox epidemic which later occurred were attributed to his negligence.(7) The Kazembe is said to have been the highest religious authority.(8) 769 643 764 778 731

Carved wooden figures representing dead ancestors (*nkisi*) were kept in special huts and received offerings of beer, cassava, flour, hemp and tobacco.(9) Kazembe had several such figures, some named after dead chiefs, which were carried before the army in battle.(10) 778 532 769

(1) Valdez, II, p.262.
(2) Burton, p.128.
(3) Valdez, op.cit., p.243.
(4) Valdez, II, p.231.
(5) Burton, p.103.
(6) Valdez, op.cit., p.248.
(7) Valdez, II, p.257.
(8) ibid., p.243.
(9) Livingstone, I, p.353.
(10) ibid.

614 616 mushroom and rain clans are similarly paired since mushrooms cannot grow without rain; the porridge and the pot are equally essential to each other.

It will be seen that as it exists at the present day, this system of opposite or complementary clans can hardly be described as a form of dual organization, since each *mukoo* is not systematically paired, but has often a number of different partners linked by the apparently arbitrary factor of the clan name. The man's and the woman's clans are separately paired, it is true, and each has no other *bwaangwe*, but the rain clan (*mfula*) counts as its opposite numbers all the clans with plant names (the millet clans, the gourd, the mushroom clans, the grass, the tree, etc.) since plants cannot grow without rain. The fish clan members are also *bwaangwe* to the rain people, since fish only spawn when the rain has begun to fall. The iron people reckon themselves *bwaangwe* to members of all clans with the names of animals hunted or killed with iron spears or arrows, *i.e.*, the elephant, lion, leopard, etc. The animal clans also have reciprocal relations not only with the iron people, but with any *mukoo* named after an animal smaller than itself which forms its prey (*e.g.*, the lion and goat) or with the vegetable names in the case of a herbivorous species (*e.g.*, elephant and grass, etc.). The members of the mourning clan laughingly assert they are *bwaangwe* of all the clans since they are experts in mortuary ritual! —one of the reciprocal functions performed by *bwaangwe*.

614 616 T64 What are the reciprocal functions the *bwaangwe* perform for each other? Their ceremonial duties are chiefly confined to funeral rites.[7] The *bwaangwe* of a dead man's family both help and harass him at the burial ceremony. When the mourner's party has set off with the corpse to the grave-yard a man and a woman of any of the opposite clans remain behind to whitewash the hut contaminated by the touch of death, and to open the door for the wailers as they return. This is an unpleasant duty since contact with death necessitates subsequent purification. It is, moreover, a task which cannot be performed by members of the dead man's own clan. When the burial is over and the question of inheritance

[7] It is interesting to note that the legends of origin of the Lamba *mukoo* usually refer to the behaviour of the clan ancestors on their return from a funeral. C. Doke, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[p. 190(A)]

614 has finally been settled the *banungwe* are again
616 essential. They have also to brew the beer for
764 the feast held for the kinsmen on such occasions.
Besides these necessary ritual functions which
people perform for their *banungwe*, they also
taunt them at the funeral, irritate them and
make jokes. Some of the opposite clan members
must follow the burial party to the grave. The
moment the body has been buried and earth
piled over it in a mound, one of the *banungwe*
breaks the silence with a sudden shout. He rails
at the mourning family, mocks at them, and
accuses them of having buried a live man. He
calls out, 'You, there! Why do you bury a man
'who is alive! Listen to him knocking down
'there! Can't you hear him! He is asking
'for some snuff. You enemies, you! (the usual
'term applied by *banungwe* to each other). See
'what things you do! You go and bury live
'men!' The taunts are, of course, expected, but
were received, at each funeral I attended, with
a kind of horrified silence, till suddenly the
tension broke, and the mourners who had been
wailing for some six hours without break, began
sheepishly to laugh, and broke into an uncere-
monious run back to the village, still pursued
by shouts from the irrepressible *banungwe*, 'Look
'out you now! He has risen (*Kubuka*) from
'the grave, that man you buried. He is coming
'after you asking for porridge.'[8] Older natives
say that the mourners were beaten by their
banungwe in the old days and add that the latter
[428] were also responsible for handing over to the
heirs the insignia of inheritance—the bow of the
dead man, or the belt of the woman—but I never
saw either of these customs practised myself.

614 As ritually expressed the traditional attitude
616 between *banungwe* is therefore one of hostility,
522 and yet, as the complementary nature of the
clan names imply, one of reciprocal service.
Banungwe regularly address each other as 'You,
'my enemy!' (*Mwe mulwani mwe!*) and delight
in laughter at the habits of the objects, whether
animal or plant, of the opposite clan. A member
of the crocodile clan will scoff at one of the fish
people and deride him as, 'You! You are just
'my food ration!' (*poso*, the word used for a
government ration given to employees). 'Come
'over here! I want to give you to my wife to
'cook.' The *mununguwe* of the fish clan retaliates

[775] [8] The word *kubuku* is that used for a dead man's spirit which returns to haunt the living (a *cisu*).

[p. 190(B)]